

**AN EXCLUSIVE**

# **Birth Control in Chicago**

**FOCUS  
MIDWEST**

**64**



## **The Church AND Birth Control**

*Ralph Simon*

## **WILL BOLLING SURVIVE THE PRIMARY?**

*Howard P. Neighbor*



**ALSO:**

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
HARRY MARK PETRAKIS  
HARRIET WOODS

• IRVING DILLARD  
• ROBERT FARNSWORTH  
• LUCILE F. ALY • JOHN MATHEWS



# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

W. B. McMillan, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Hussman Refrigerator Company, received the Silver Antelope Award from the Boy Scouts of America. L. J. Sverdrup, St. Louis Area Council president, described Mr. McMillan as "a dedicated and intense leader in his community and his nation." Mr. McMillan was the first man to join the John Birch Society after Robert Welch founded it.

## "U.S. Bra Makers Plan to Uplift Thailand Women."

... Exhibitors at the (American undergarment and cosmetic show in Bangkok) say there is an untapped market in Thailand where women are said to be evolving from the traditional garb of centuries into "more uplifting, well defined" western fashions. They will be shown bras, bathing suits, lingerie, other apparel and the beauty aids which make American women chic and outstanding. "The market potential for American undergarment fashions is south-east Asia, with or without the benefit of foam rubber has always been practically zero," said Sidney Schnur, president of the Rubber Fabrics corporation, before he took off for Bangkok. "But now that women have come to accept western fashions, there is much education work to be done in this area," he said.

From *Chicago Tribune*

President Johnson conducted his own civil rights demonstration early this year. He attended a party at the segregated 40 Acres Club near the University of Texas accompanied by his three secretaries, including Geraldine Whittington, a Negro. The management of the 40 Acres Club decided against refusing to admit the President's party and subsequently announced a policy of admitting Negroes for private parties or if they are official guests of the University of Texas.

*The Texas Observer*, Austin, Texas

In a letter to the Communist Party quoted in the *New York Times*, Arizona's Assistant Attorney General Philip M. Haggerty declared that a 1961 state law "flatly prohibits official representation" for the Communists on Arizona's ballot. "The subversive nature of your organization," Mr. Haggerty added, "is even more clearly designated by the fact that you do not even include your zip code on your letter."

*Civil Liberties*, March 1964

Edwin B. Neilan, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, has received \$2,158 in government aid payments on a farm. He is a strong critic of government subsidies.

The Germany army officers who tried to assassinate Hitler in 1944 have never been celebrated in Germany.

Arthur Miller in "Facing Up to Murder of Millions"

Cairo (AP) — Interviews with eight national assembly candidates who favor birth control showed that they had a total of 52 children. Engineer Youssef Mohammed, with nine children, said: "I began believing in birth control late in life."

Excerpts from an editorial in *Torch*, Roosevelt University student newspaper, on occasion of an exhibit commemorating the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising: "... Six million European Jews are dead, and the Warsaw of 1939 no longer exists. It is a historical fact, useful to all when viewed in that perspective. But we can see no more social value in such exhibits as the one presented by YIVO than we can in presenting a display showing the death wrought by the American Civil War, which has had a far greater effect on those officially connected with Roosevelt University than the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. This is true, we feel, because neither the Warsaw exhibit nor a Civil War exhibit, presented as memorials to terror, does anything useful. They change nothing. They are simply there, and serve no good purpose other than to provide a place where those who are living in the past can come to focus a hate based on a dead reality."



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# Letters

## *The Kansas City Vote on Public Accommodations*

F/M: Kansas City voters passed a public accommodations ordinance on April 7, but local political observers are not sure it is much of a victory for civil rights. The measure extends prohibition against discrimination in hotels and restaurants to include similar prohibitions in all establishments open to the public (with the exception of those establishments performing purely personal services, such as barbershops).

The ordinance was adopted by the city council last year, but was forced onto the ballot by initiative petition, under the leadership of an organization of tavern operators. It was approved by the voters by the narrow margin of 45,476 to 43,733. Credit for the victory must go to the Negro community itself which turned out en masse in unanimous support. Civil rights leaders were disappointed that the white community voted approximately two to one against public accommodations. It was "a hallow victory" they say. Such expressions indicate a misunderstanding of the electoral process.

A casual observer may assume that the white vote against public accommodations represents a proportionate opposition throughout the white community. This is a gross misreading of the election statistics. Approximately 43,000 white voters disapproved of the ordinance. This represents about 63 per cent of those whites who voted. *But more significantly it represents only 28 per cent of those whites who were registered and only 17 per cent of those eligible to vote.* We can only assume, on the basis of American voting behavior, that those who did not vote were willing to accept the outcome one way or the other. Of the total white electorate, approximately 17 per cent opposed the ordinance, 10 per cent supported it, and 73 per cent were willing to accept the result whichever way it went. This is hardly a white repudiation of civil rights. These statistics clearly place this election in a class with elections on most

other issues in a pluralistic society: a few persons on one side, a few on the other, and everyone else in the middle, either not caring or immobilized by conflicting ideas. Most significantly, these figures show us that 83 per cent of Kansas City whites are willing to accept the right of the Negro to equal access to public accommodations.

These figures should be of great satisfaction to members of the Negro community, who have learned in this election the real power of the ballot and who should now understand that though they themselves must assume the greater part of the burden in achieving equal rights, they can expect the broad support of the white community in consummating the victory.

Howard Neighbor  
Assistant Professor of  
Political Science  
Park College

## *Fallout Information Wanted*

F/M: It is gratifying to know that the public has been informed of current medical knowledge as to the harmful effects of cigarette smoking . . . But what information is publicized about increased birth defects which may be due to radioactivity?

I am now looking forward to the birth of my third child. I hope that it too will be as healthy and well as my two preschoolers. I can accept the fact that birth defects can occur even under the best of medical care and attention. I cannot, however, accept a birth defect which was caused by man-made excessive nuclear fallout. Nor do I want to accept the fact that my children may be deprived of the joys of parenthood because nuclear effects may not show up until the following generation.

I have the choice whether to smoke or not. I can directly control this, and I can give my children information which they can utilize directly. I do not have any direct control over nuclear fallout, nor do I have any real means to protect my children from it.

. . . Is it not time to demand that

full medical reports, both pro and con, be given full and appropriate attention in the communications media.

(Mrs.) Faye Lander  
Columbia, Mo.

## *Senator Hubert Humphrey*

F/M: . . . I note that Senator Humphrey is a columnist — and a most interesting one! The Senator is also a strong advocate of the Quality Stabilization bill. I'm sure that FOCUS/Midwest, the *Post-Dispatch* and most other papers are against the QS bill. Why not ask the Senator why they are on the wrong track? Seriously, it would help a lot of people — get them straightened out in their thinking, including maybe, some good editorial men on the FOCUS/Midwest staff.

Joseph T. Meek  
President, Illinois Retail  
Merchants Association

(EDITOR'S NOTE: FOCUS/Midwest has not taken an editorial stand on this bill. Until we do, we must decline to be straightened out. Meanwhile we are busy getting the kinks out of our back on a few other positions we did take.)

The QS act prohibits any merchant from selling a national brand produce at a price lower than that set by the manufacturer. The arguments over the bill have remained basically the same over the years. Those in favor claim that discount houses and giant chain stores are driving independent, small businessmen out of business, and are denying opportunities for free enterprise; and that this concentrates the retail market in the hands of a few. Even if prices are set, the proponents say, the consumers will still be protected because the manufacturers setting prices will be competing with each other. Those opposing the fair trade laws claim that the bill is against the principles of free competition and anti-trust; that if some houses through more efficiency can offer lower prices, they should be allowed to do so; and that the consumer should be allowed to benefit and should not be subjected to fixed profits.)



***both men called on an outstate account today***



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## The Guilt of Acting

**I**N an article dispatched from Frankfurt, Germany and published widely, Arthur Miller speaks of the human paradoxes in the German trial of German guards and officers of concentration camps. He writes: "The point which the prosecution is trying to open up first to Germany, and then to the world, is individual conscience and responsibility in the face of inhuman orders." Trying to comprehend the German heart, Miller opines, "The disquieting, nagging truth which I think dilutes the otherwise clear line this trial is taking, is that the human mind does in fact accept one kind of murder. It is the murder done under the guise of social necessity."

Responsibility for every one of our actions, whether or not within the law, falls back on us. There is no higher authority. Ultimately, we must stand in constant judgment outside of and uncommitted to the judicial and political structure of our society. No majority vote or Supreme Court decision absolves us of the guilt of acting. Even a governor who fails to commute a death sentence, personally takes a life. Even a soldier under orders cannot reject this crushing knowledge. Otherwise he, or we, may come to accept murder by "social necessity."

In Arthur Miller's words: "The question in the Frankfurt courtroom spreads out beyond the defendants and spirals around the world and into the heart of every man. It is his own capacity for murder, even the murders he did not perform himself with his own hands. The murders, however, from which he profited if only by having survived."

## Godless Peace Corps?

**T**HE Peace Corps is a product where you take the Word of God and patriotism out . . . which country was the first one to send out a Peace Corps? The Soviet Union. We have merely begun to copy. Communism has made inroads into just about every walk and way of life . . ." These are excerpts from a speech by John A. Noble at a Missouri Freedom Forum for high school students. He and other far right speakers will again address students this year. While the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce is one of the sponsors, local chapters are becoming restive and are taking a second look. Last year the Mexico Chamber of Commerce withdrew its support. This year the board of the Kirkwood Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to investigate the Forum after John W. Dodson, a local businessman, urged the body to withdraw its support. By the following meeting, the board had sufficiently recuperated to approve the sponsorship of students by a vote of ten to one, without waiting for a report of its study committee. However, it is considering sending an observer to the Forum. Readers

who want to learn more about this institution, can receive free of charge our Vol. I, No. 5 which has a detailed article on the background and speakers of the Forum.

## Ebony In Africa

**C**HICAGO-based *Ebony* (circ. nearly 800,000) has jumped the continents with its edition *Ebony Africa*, which will be sold in all independent African countries. A French language version will be out in July. *Ebony*, the *Life* magazine of the American Negro, should have a startling impact upon the African reader. Looking out from its pages will be the Negro American, rather than the white American. Of course, the African businessman knows that we are a multi-racial country, but the image he holds is different. *Ebony* may correct this view.

## We Drop Fallout Report

**W**ITH this issue FOCUS/Midwest has dropped reporting on the fallout of radio-nuclides. The "fallout level" has declined markedly since nuclear testing has ceased, except for Strontium 90 which has a longer life and will decrease more slowly. We published the data for Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City both to minimize unnecessary concern as well as to reiterate the dangers in unchecked nuclear testing.

Those who want to keep in touch with the latest findings in nuclear developments, and their social and scientific implications, should subscribe to *Nuclear Information* regularly published by the Committee for Nuclear Information, a non-profit, non-partisan group of scientists and other citizens. (Write: CNI, 6504 Delmar, St. Louis 30, Mo. and enclose \$5 for a one-year subscription.)

## Follow-Ups

**T**wo issues ago, Irving Dilliard wrote about the attempt by Thomas A. Hoadley, prosecuting attorney at Bloomington, Ind., to suppress free expression of political views at Indiana University. Readers will be interested to know that Circuit Court Judge Nat U. Hill declared the Indiana anti-subversion act unconstitutional, clearing three students of sedition charges for attending a campus meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance . . . In the same issue Dan Sauls, formerly assistant director of the Missouri Conservation Commission, reviewed Secretary Stuart L. Udall's book on conservation, "The Quiet Crisis." Unlike most others, his review was quite critical. We have learned that this review triggered Secretary Udall's interest in Mr. Sauls and led to his appointment as assistant to the Bureau Director and also Information Officer for the Bureau of Land Management. We can only commend the Secretary's "reaction."



## HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

### "I AM COMMITTED"

At this writing, we are in the midst of the debate in the Senate on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We are working on the previously passed House version of that bill. I have the responsibility to be the Democratic floor manager in the Senate for it. I consider it the most important legislative assignment of my career. I can only say that I am committed to do all in my power to bring a strong Civil Rights bill to final enactment in law.

Several things are vital to its passage:

1. The bill must have bi-partisan support. The issue is not a partisan issue as between Democrats and Republicans. The House bill had magnificent bi-partisan support. I believe we have the same in the Senate. We are working in the closest harmony, as we should on an issue that is as much above and beyond party, as is this one.

2. It is vital that we take generous time to debate this bill in minute detail. Finally we should vote, of course, but meanwhile every constitutional question that may be asked should be answered. Every ambiguity of language should be clarified. Every nook and cranny of enforcement should be explored.

Civil rights has been an emotionally packed issue. In such an atmosphere much prejudice and bias has been apparent. Many wild charges have been made. It is essential to answer with the most careful, sound, painstaking reason. The supporters of Civil Rights are not trying to make a play of power or force; are not trying to "ram" legislation through. We are trying to unify people, not split them.

3. Searching debate is essential also to support the moral consensus of the nation which, I believe, has crystallized, and which is the major factor which will pass this legislation. The Civil Rights issue is not a regional one any longer. In East and West, North and South, equality of citizenship must be achieved. The inequities suffered by the Negro in opportunity for education, jobs,

health service, housing, public dignity in public places, are beyond question. The nation knows that a citizen who can bear arms and die for his country equally, and pay taxes equally, should be equal in other rights and responsibilities of citizenship. When the nation is assured that nothing less than what this bill provides will erase the citizenship gap of 100 years for the American Negro, I believe the force of the national consensus will make itself known and the Senate will vote.

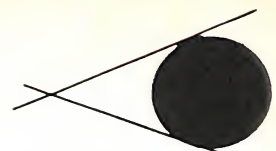
4. I believe that the role of churchmen and religious leaders has been and is vital to the passage of this bill. So deeply has the issue of Civil Rights polarized us in the past, that even our churches have been slow to find a way to heed their "still small voice." But now, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew — separately and together — have found that the moral imperative requires a courage adequate to it. The historic March of Freedom last August 28, marked a turning point for the churches I believe. They joined fully in that great demonstration of human brotherhood. And they will indeed "overcome."

A great weight will be lifted from us in America when this legislation is passed. The proclamation of freedom for the Negro will become a genuine emancipation. Many problems will remain in order to achieve in fact the principles enacted in law. *But not until the law is enacted shall we be free — white as well as colored — to work on the problems.*

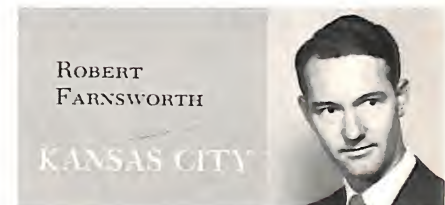
Our stature will increase among the nations of the world. We do not lead the Free World by force of arms and wealth. At most these are respected as factors of sheer power. America leads in its hope and promise that power will ever be subordinate to justice. It leads by its demonstration that liberty and fulfillment can be brought to all men in the democracy of its common lift.

When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is passed, we shall have a great new sense of confidence in ourselves. The world will have a great new burst of confidence in us.

Senator Humphrey's column appears exclusively in FOCUS/Midwest.



## DATELINES



LAST fall when the Tavern Owners' Association and the Association for Freedom of Choice were campaigning to force a referendum on Public Accommodations Bill, I made light of the statements made by Mayor Ilus Davis and the *Kansas City Star* in support of the bill and predicted that the main source of support for the PA Bill would come from civil rights organizations plus Freedom Inc. Subsequent events have proved me a lousy prophet.

The *Star* supported the bill enthusiastically, so enthusiastically that even I was ready to join the Tavern Owners' Association in crying foul at one of their political cartoons. Mayor Davis, once he got Charles Finley out of his hair, used his office to enlist massive support. The civil rights organizations, with the possible exception of CCSA, did very little.

Something which I had never anticipated happened. There was an overwhelming endorsement of the PA Bill by practically all the middle-class religious, social, and political organizations. The opposition consisted solely of the beleaguered and surely disreputable Tavern Owners and the misnamed Freedom of Choicers.

Yet when the vote was counted the PA Bill was endorsed by a very narrow margin. The narrowness of victory was sobering and disturbing.

The meaning of the ominous reticence noted by pollsters and experienced political observers prior to the election was now made clear. The huge effort by civic leaders barely scratched the surface of deep-seated white prejudice. The campaign was made in behalf of a very modest civil



rights measure with the ambition of providing an overwhelming victory to prove how up to date Kansas City really is, but it was barely enough to provide the minimum of victories.

All kinds of people worked long and hard in this campaign, and there were some very notable achievements. Operation PA succeeded in registering 5,000 voters for this election, and they followed this up with a stirringly successful effort to get the people to the polls on election day. This effort to get out the Negro vote was the major factor in the bill's victory. Operation Freedom did an outstanding job with interracial teams of students and housewives organized at the Presbyterian Neighborhood Center in the Second Ward. Church leaders of

every faith used the prestige of their position in endorsing the measure.

Yet the PA Bill barely made it.

The strong resentment registered by the white voters against the PA Bill ought to destroy the notion that Kansas City is a progressive community marching well in the forefront of American social history.

This is still a frontier community with only a thin veneer of civilization because its middle-class leadership has been content to live in protected cultural isolation from the grosser problems of the community. The efforts of this middle-class leadership on behalf of the PA Bill were commendable, but they came late to the fray. Prejudice, bigotry, and social backwardness are deeply rooted here.

If the middle-class leadership, so hearteningly apparent in support of the PA Bill, now decides to retreat out of shock at the closeness of defeat, Kansas City will be left to drag along in the wake of whatever forces determine the main stream of change in our nation. Now is the time for those same people to get on with the job.

A minor victory has been won. It was disappointingly close, but still a victory. The commitment, the camaraderie, and the organizational talent found for this campaign is needed in preparing this community for a modern democratic civilization.

HARRY MARK  
PETRAKIS

CHICAGO



(EDITOR'S NOTE: Harry Mark Petrakis has received the Friends of the American Writers Award for 1964 for his book "The Odyssey of Kostas Volakis." Newspapers throughout the country announced the award. We are, of course, proud to count Mr. Petrakis among our contributing editors.)

At a preview here a few weeks ago I saw Elia Kazan's new motion picture, "America America," and was greatly moved. In a time when it is considered wryly naive to talk of the "American Dream" (except in Albee's frame of reference), a gifted and prominent director who has ably handled incest and cannibalism in his films has made a movie which stunningly captures some of the essence of the dream which drove immigrants from all over the world to turn longingly to America.

Stavros Topouzoglou, played with brilliance by a new young Greek actor named Stathis Giallelis, lives with his family in Asia Minor under Turkish domination in the last decade before the new century. In order to survive, the Greeks and their companions in bondage, the Armenians, allow the Turkish rulers to play them against one another, keeping their faces averted in prayer as the Turkish soldiers take turns in killing them. Stavros' father and mother have learned the wily game of silence and consent but each day and night become for Stavros an intolerable rack of emptiness and longing. The journey

luncheon, 11 to 4 p.m.  
dinner, 4 to 10 p.m.  
late snacks 10 p.m.  
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he begins which finally culminates as he lands in America, falling on his hands and knees to fervently kiss the ground, is a savage story of anguish, suffering, and despair. In the beginning he is little more than a child who learns very quickly that the world violates its children. Hurlled into the arena of adulthood, he understands finally the irrelevancy of a man's decency to the fate that can overtake him. He is abused, robbed, starved, and beaten. In turn he conspires, fights, becomes an older woman's lover for money; and even kills. When his anguish and shame become more than he can bear, only the flame of his dream to reach America lets him go on.

There will be those who will say, "melodrama" and "unsophisticated cinema." But none of the experiences which Kazan records overshadow the stories I heard as a boy from the old immigrant Greeks who made their journeys about this same time. One old patriarch who has left an epitaph of a mountain of empty bottles of retsina, put it into words I still remember: "Boy, when we looked toward America we thought we were seeing the true city of God."

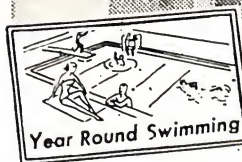
It mattered little that here they often found new burdens to replace the old despair. Some adapted quickly, too quickly, to the mores of the struggle to survive. Some found a place for themselves, but others looked back with a strange and plaintive yearning toward the land they had left, afraid to go on and still afraid to turn back. They could no longer remember the barren old country land which could not sustain them, the ample reasons for their leaving, and recalled only the golden islands, the winds from the Black Sea into the Aegean, the warmth of a way of life their fathers and their mothers knew. Brooding in their candy stores and shabby lunch-rooms, a few of them would come to feel as Socrates thinking exile more bitter than death.

But all this comes later. Kazan's magnificent film is of a young man who is Greek, and might have been Polish, Italian, or any other nationality, a young man caught by a dream in a time which sustained a wild vitality and vigor, a time when men still had an apparent choice as to what their destiny would be, and were not fearful of the crises that any move toward freedom brings.

We have grown weary and wise and have lost so much.

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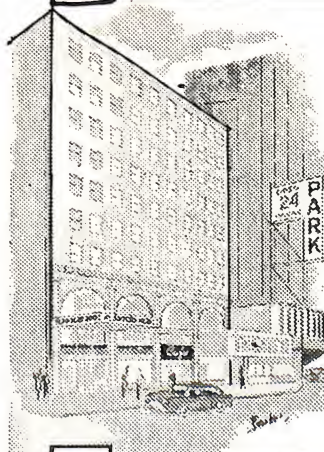
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# CAN BOLLING SURVIVE THE PRIMARY?

DUMP-BOLLING MOVE MAY HASTEN COLLAPSE OF KANSAS CITY FACTIONS

**P**OLITICAL observers registered surprise at this recent notation in *Congressional Quarterly*:

Factional maneuverings within the Democratic party of the Missouri 5th District (Kansas City) have seriously jeopardized the renomination chances of Rep. Richard Bolling (D), a leader of Democratic liberals in the U.S. House. Most major Kansas City Democratic factions Feb. 28 lined up behind the candidacy of Jackson County Judge Hunter H. Phillips, a moderate conservative . . .

This development surprised many observers who viewed Bolling's reelection "safe" because he had not faced a serious challenge (in either the primary or the general election) since he ascended to the House of Representatives in 1948. While there had been signs of increasing Republican strength, there had been no indication of any substantial disaffection of Democrats from the ranks of Bolling supporters. It seems appropriate, then, to take a long hard look at this attempt to "dump" Bolling.

The first question that comes to mind is the measure of sincerity of the public announcement. One can never be sure of the motives of Kansas City's northend ward bosses. Their ability to skip from one candidate to another, with no apparent reason, is legend. Not that these shifts are irrational, but the rational eludes the casual observer. The most we can say at this time is that the attempt to purge Bolling appears to be real. And there are reasons why the faction leaders might consider this a rational move.

**I**N the first place, Kansas City Democratic faction leaders have never considered Congressman Bolling as "their man." He has not been their man. Bolling won his first primary in 1948 as a "face-saving" candidate. The Democratic party of Kansas City and Jackson County had been rocked by an election fraud scandal growing out of the 5th district congressional election of 1946. President Harry

Truman had decided that Congressman Roger Slaughter should not be returned, and that an old friend, Enos Axtell, should be given the 5th district seat. Truman's demand produced a bitter primary contest, a narrow victory for Axtell, and charges of election fraud. A county grand jury impounded the ballots and conducted a thorough investigation of the charges. Seventy one vote fraud indictments were handed down and later dismissed for lack of evidence when the ballots were stolen from the county court house. Though prosecution failed, the party was torn apart by the scandal. Axtell did not seek reelection in 1948, and Bolling, then a veteran's advisor at the University of Kansas City, filed as a "clean-up" candidate. With some factional support he managed to win the primary and then the general election.

By 1950 the Democratic factions had regained their composure. Unable to control the young liberal congressman, they conspired to end his career quickly. President Truman, however, had different ideas. The chief executive had grown fond of Bolling and considered him a valuable ally of the administration. The factions were instructed to return the incumbent. By 1952 the Congressman had built up such a following that unless he should suffer some major public disaffection, the factions were stuck.

Making the best of the situation, they used the Bolling incumbency, from election to election, to attract votes for their candidates in the county races. Despite their public acceptance of the Congressman, the faction leaders could never be enthusiastic about him. Bolling was and is a liberal — a working liberal; the faction leaders, depending for their success upon the continued domination of lower income groups, were and are ultra-conservative. The two are at opposite poles in their political philosophy and in what they seek to achieve for the same constituents. The faction leaders have supported Bolling because they have had no alternative. They could be expected to shift their support to another candidate at the first real hope that such

a maneuver could be carried off successfully.

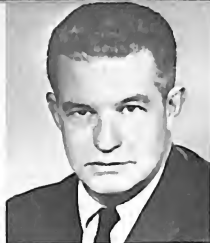
The factional dissatisfaction with Rep. Bolling was heightened following the 1960 presidential election. With a Democrat once again in the White House, the faction leaders figured that they should have a voice in picking the new Kansas City postmaster. Bolling, who was called upon by President Kennedy to fill the post, ignored their suggestions and recommended a professional administrator, Ted Bland. Bland's appointment was received bitterly by the faction leaders. They sharpened their watch for an opening in the Bolling armour.

That opening seemed to come this winter when the Congressman was divorced and quickly remarried. The faction leaders apparently felt that these marital maneuverings would be enough to dull the Bolling image, so that they then could legitimately attack his record. If they could find a candidate with voter appeal, one more attuned to their political philosophy, they could defeat Bolling.

Hunter Phillips, Western District Judge (commissioner) for Jackson County, who had successfully carried the northend faction banner through five elections in 10 years, appeared to be the man who could beat Bolling. Phillips had long nurtured ambitions of going to congress. He was and is enthusiastic about his candidacy. He is convinced that he can win the primary on August 4, and go on to victory in November.

Phillips may figure it this way. Two years ago Bolling defeated his primary election opponent 31,391 to 2,371. A ward by ward analysis of the vote shows that at least 15,000 of those Bolling votes were contributed by the factions. Thus, Phillips might count on taking away roughly half of Bolling's 1962 vote. In addition the traditional anti-Bolling voters and those disaffected from the Congressman because of his divorce, may produce a victory margin of perhaps 5,000 votes. Also Phillips may receive a bonus of several thousand votes from anti-Bolling Republicans who might be expected to cross-over to the Democratic primary if they saw an opportunity to get rid of the liberal legislator.





Richard Bolling

**B**ARRING any dramatic event seriously affecting Bolling's popularity, a Phillips victory as projected in the above paragraph, is very unlikely.

Voters are not puppets to be pulled about by political leaders. Each voter, when he casts his ballot, acts in a manner which he perceives to be in his own interest. Even the pure "controlled" voter, who sells his vote for a dollar bill, or a hot meal, or the friendship and favor of the precinct captain, sees greater value to himself in the payment he receives, than in the way he marks the ballot.

With this voting behavior in mind, let us analyze the factions' 15,000 "control" votes. At least two thirds of this total comes out of the Negro community and organized labor. Bolling's labor and civil rights records are among the best in congress. Labor and Negro leaders are prepared to give him their unqualified support. It is true that organized labor has been rather ineffective at the Kansas City ballot box in recent years, but only because it has had nothing to fight for. As with any group in our pluralistic society, organized labor is cohesive only in regard to issues which affect the working man as a group. There is every indication that Kansas City organized labor will coalesce in vigorous support of Congressman Bolling.

On April 7th of this year the Kansas City Negro community reached a milestone in political maturity. The Negro voter realized the power of the ballot. Without the help of faction leaders, Negroes overrode the two to one opposition of white voters to ratify a public accommodations ordinance. It is inconceivable that they would now return to the faction fold, against the pro-Bolling pleas of Negro leaders.

In consideration of these factors, faction leaders would be able to "control" not more than half the 15,000 votes which they claim.

There is another and perhaps more significant principle of voting behavior which is frequently overlooked. The more the individual perceives a threat to his own interests in a given election, the more likely he is to vote. This means that Bolling supporters who would not bother to vote

in a primary election in which the threat to their candidate is believed to be minimal, would be motivated to vote if the threat is believed to be serious. It is true that this principle works on both sides. The greater are believed to be the chances of defeating Bolling, the more motivated will be the opponent. However, in a "control" versus "walk-in" vote situation, such as is projected in the Phillips versus Bolling primary contest, any advantage in expanding the voting population lies with he who receives the walk-in vote.

The reason for this is simple. Because of their interest in controlling the County Committee, and because of their interest in placing their men in patronage-rich county offices, the factions function in party primaries at a much higher level of efficiency than does the walk-in vote, which is not much interested in the County Committee and patronage. For example, in the 1962 primary the controlled vote represented nearly half the total Democratic vote. However, actual faction strength probably represents not more than 20 per cent of the total number of registered Democrats in the city. Thus, the potential for expansion of the walk-in vote is much greater than for the controlled vote. Since there has been no general dissatisfaction with Bolling within the Democratic electorate, the walk-in voter will strongly support Bolling, and any increase in the walk-in vote proportionately greater than the controlled vote will favor Bolling. The Bolling-Phillips contest will produce a well publicized, high key campaign which will dramatically increase the size of the voting population, and significantly decrease the percentage of the vote which could be expected to go to Phillips.

The remaining hope that Republicans will desert their own party primary to vote against Bolling assumes either a greater Republican party discipline and loyalty than does in fact exist in Kansas City, or a proportionately greater attraction of Republicans for Phillips than for Bolling. Kansas City Republicans for 30 years have been allied with "good guy" Democrats against the "bad guy" Democratic factions. Phillips, representing the factions, has been a "bad guy" Democrat. Bolling has consistently carried the image of a "good guy" Democrat. It seems rather far-fetched to suppose that Republicans could suddenly ally with the "bad guys" against the "good guys."

If the Republican party in Kansas City were a highly disciplined party,

it might make sense for party leaders to organize a cross-over. The object would be to help the Democrats select a weak candidate, so that the Republicans would have a greater chance of victory in November. But such discipline is lacking. The chances are that as many would cross over to vote for Bolling as against him.

Summing up, it appears likely that the move of Democratic factions to "dump" the incumbent in favor of Judge Phillips is wishful thinking. The traditional controlled vote will likely be cut in half by organized labor and Negro support of Bolling. The faction move is likely to stimulate an abnormally heavy pro-Bolling walk-in vote. Finally, it seems unrealistic to expect that Republican crossovers would materially aid Phillips.

**T**HIS maneuver is another indication of the increasing senility of the once powerful northend war bosses. Presuming that they are sincere in the effort, the faction leaders seem to be lost in a world of make-believe, refusing to accept the fact that they can no longer control elections.

This decline of the ward bosses began with the defeat of Pendergast in 1940. It has continued steadily as the lower class controlled vote has been dissipated by prosperity, social mobility, and slum clearance. This decline has been particularly noticeable in recent years as Jackson County outside of Kansas City has been transformed into suburbia, critically weakening the eastern Jackson County machine, and depriving the Kansas City factions of a strong ally. In the past, the ward bosses have been sustained in Kansas City by the spoils of the county courthouse. With this source drying up, their weakness is apparent.

It is difficult to convince Kansas Citians that the once dreaded factions are about to collapse. It is even more difficult for the faction leaders to accept the inevitable conclusion. The seemingly futile attempt to "dump" Bolling should be seen in this light. Perhaps it is just as well, for any unsuccessful confrontation with the popular congressman is bound to hasten the inevitable end.

*Howard D. Neighbor is the author of "Reform: Metamorphosis of Non-Partisan Politics in Kansas City, Missouri" and is engaged in a continuing study of political activities in Kansas City. He is an assistant professor of political science at Park College.*





## The Church and Birth Control in Chicago

/ RALPH SIMON

Chicago is the seat of Cook County in the State of Illinois. In the past decade, it has been a city of shifting populations and many social problems. There is unemployment, slum housing, and their concomitant evils. Chicago has an exploding population in its low-income, high-fertility groups, such as Negroes, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and southern white in-migrants. The crude birth rate of this group in 1959 was estimated at 37 per 1,000 — only 2 points below that estimated for India. Most of the low-income families are served at Cook County Hospital, where about 20,000 babies are born every year, and at the Board of Health clinics, where three-fifths of the women delivered at Cook County Hospital receive their prenatal and post-partum care.

Cook County is the largest Roman Catholic Archdiocese in the world. Its population is 54 per cent Protestant, 5-6 per cent Jewish, and 38 per cent Roman Catholic. Cook County is governed by a Board of Commissioners. The City of Chicago, proper, is governed by the Mayor and the City Council. In 1958 the Planned Parenthood Association, spurred on by the successful conclusion of the hospital controversy in New York, decided an all-out effort would be made to lift the ban on birth control in Cook County, with attention focused, first, on Cook County Hospital.

A conference with Dr. Karl Meyer, the medical director of Cook County Hospital, brought forth the statement that there was neither staff nor funds to establish such services. He asked whether Planned Parenthood was willing to set one up within the hospital. He was told that Planned Parenthood's Board of Directors would agree to staff and finance a birth control clinic in the out-

patient department as a two-year pilot project. Dr. Meyer made the proviso that the doctors would have to ask for it.

In April 1959, a letter was sent to the medical staffs of the Obstetrical and Gynecological Department of Cook County Hospital, requesting establishment of contraceptive services and dissemination of information within the hospital. Both departments voted unanimously in favor, with one abstention.

As a result of this vote, Dr. Karl Meyer gave the "go ahead" for a Planned Parenthood clinic, providing it could be done quietly, with no publicity. After months of delay, a meeting was arranged between nursing supervisors and Planned Parenthood representatives. Details were worked out to everyone's satisfaction. When Planned Parenthood staff returned to the hospital for a final conference, they were told that Warden Hertwig, the building supervisor, had ruled against the establishment of such a clinic.

The Church Federation of Greater Chicago, in the meantime, was investigating whether or not birth control services were available to the low-income groups in Chicago. Its survey confirmed that there existed a virtual ban on birth-control services in Chicago's tax-supported facilities. Dr. George Blaha of Cook County Hospital had written the Federation: "We do not have any facilities or clinics available." Dr. Herman Bundesen, at that time president of the Board of Health, said: "... this matter does not come under the jurisdiction of the Board of Health."

On February 2, 1960, the Church Federation adopted this resolution:



The Board of Directors of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, representing 29 Protestant denominations and 1250 churches in the Chicago area, took action today unanimously supporting any efforts to establish a birth control clinic in Cook County Hospital.

Dr. John Harms, then executive vice president of the Church Federation, said: "The Church Federation feels it is committed to following through because the issue is one of religious liberty for individuals."

The Chicago Board of Rabbis added its voice by passing a strong resolution, to quote in part:

... the Chicago Board of Rabbis is unanimous in its view that decisions concerning contraception must be made by individuals concerned, in the light of their own religious insights and convictions. No one rule can govern the practice of all, since what is deemed reprehensible by one may be considered the highest morality by another.

On February 10, 1960, the Church Federation wrote hospital officials, urging establishment of a clinic. Dr. Meyer vigorously denied to the press that the clinic had ever been turned down, and said the matter was being studied by a three-man Committee.

On February 16, 1960, this Committee brought to the Medical Board an ambiguously worded report neither recommending nor opposing establishment of a clinic. Dr. Meyer told the press that the Medical Board had voted against a clinic because "birth control is a socioeconomic problem, not a medical one." In refutation of this view, the Chicago Gynecological Society passed the following resolution, which said, in part:

As specialists in the field of Obstetrics and Gynecology, we wish to emphasize our conviction that the proper prescription of child spacing measures is an important and essential aspect of preventive medicine and should be available to all patients who desire it, whether they obtain their medical care through private physicians or tax and community supported health services . . .

In the summer of 1960, Dr. Aaron Kanter, co-chairman of the Department of Gynecology of Cook County Hospital, and a member of the Planned Parenthood Medical Advisory Committee, received a copy of a letter addressed to Dr. Augusta Webster by Dr. Arthur Bernstein, director of Fantus Clinics, Cook County Hospital, which said:

At a recent meeting of the Medical Advisory Council, Cook County Institutions, it was decided that a Birth Control Clinic will be established in the new Fantus Out-Patient Clinic. You are hereby advised that such a clinic will be for Cook County Hospital patients only, and will meet in conjunction with the Post-Natal Clinics.

You are directed to organize a Birth Control Clinic to be manned by the Residents of the Obstetrical and Gynecological Department of the Cook County Hospital.

Please submit requests for literature and material necessary to run such a clinic efficiently.

The *Chicago Daily News* got wind of this, called Dr. Karl Meyer for confirmation, and was told that birth control services would be available in the new Fantus Clinic. The story appeared in the paper. The next day another Chicago paper printed a complete denial from Dr. Karl

Meyer! The *Daily News* did not retract its statement.

In December 1960, Dr. Meyer assured the social welfare director of the Church Federation that the services would be established but . . . there must be *no publicity!* The Fantus Clinic finally opened in May. In August of 1961, a representative of the Church Federation went to see Dr. Meyer, to hold him to his promise. Dr. Meyer told him there was no plan and no intention of setting up a clinic; that they had neither the funds nor the staff. After months of delay, the authorities of Cook County Hospital asserted that birth control services were actually available. When statistics were asked for, about the percentage receiving these services, the answers were not specific. It seems that a very small percentage of such services were rendered in urgent situations. The entire problem continued to remain on a treadmill. The situation is reminiscent of a story by humorist Sholem Aleichem: A woman asked her neighbor to return a pot that she lent her. Her neighbor replied: "In the first place, I gave it back to you; in the second place, I never took it; in the third place, it was broken." The Cook County authorities have been saying that, in the first place, it is not their responsibility to provide birth control information; in the second place, they are already doing it; in the third place, they have neither the funds nor the room to provide it.

A final attempt to provide a Birth-Control Clinic in Cook County Hospital was made in March, 1963. An anonymous donor offered to make available the sum of \$400,000 for the operation of such a service for a period of two years. The deadline for the acceptance of the offer was December 1. Dr. Karl Meyer revealed to a newspaper reporter that space could be made available if the proposal were approved by the Cook County Board of Commissioners. The Board, however, failed to take the necessary action and permitted the proposed offer to be withdrawn.

**T**HE policy of the Chicago Board of Health with regard to family planning was also negative. Discussion of family planning and referrals to Planned Parenthood have not been permitted.

On May 8, 1961, Robert C. Stepto, the gynecological consultant to the Chicago Board of Health, and a member of Planned Parenthood Association, Chicago Area's Medical Advisory Committee, wrote the following recommendation to Dr. Eric Oldberg, president of the Chicago Board of Health:

I am enclosing a copy of the Statement of Policy of the American Public Health Association, a copy of the resolution passed by the Chicago Gynecological Society, and a copy of the letter of approval of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Medicine of Chicago, regarding the resolution adopted by the Chicago Gynecological Society.

It is my recommendation that we endorse a resolution like that of the Chicago Gynecological Society, with emphasis that the individual doctor should have the freedom to dispense this information as he would in his private practice. In this manner, full cognizance of religious freedom and individual moral patterns would be adequately considered.

Chicago Health Commissioner, Dr. Samuel Andelman, however, has not accepted the view of his medical colleagues. The *Chicago Daily News* of September 15, 1962, quotes him as follows:



Board of Health physicians in city clinics currently prescribe birth control only when there is a 'medical indication' for the need. Our program is preventive medicine, to prevent disease. And, of course, pregnancy is not considered a disease.

The Cook County Department of Public Aid also maintained a "hands off" policy in regard to family planning. Its Bulletin No. 60.12, on this subject, states in part:

1. The policy and procedure restated in this bulletin shall apply with regard to staff responsibility when questions regarding family planning are raised by applicants or recipients of Public Assistance. Because of the controversial nature of this problem, the Department must maintain a neutral position but still recognize

the right of private conscience and individual religious preference in this matter.

2. In keeping with this position and because family planning is primarily a medical and religious matter, County Department staff may make referrals to medical or religious sources when advice is sought by clients of the Department. Direct referrals to planned parenthood clinics are not to be made by staff, since such action would be in conflict with the Department's neutral position, and since advising on family planning requires more than the competence of the caseworker.

3. Staff members may not give information about, or make referrals to, planned parenthood clinics. If a recipient of Public Assistance receives information about these clinics from

## Report On The "Population Dilemma" By The Mid-America Conference At The University Of Missouri

*(The participants in the Mid-America Assembly at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, February 13-16, 1964, reviewed as a group the Final Report on The Population Dilemma. Although there was general agreement on the Final Report, it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every recommendation included in the statement. Following are excerpts from the Report.)*

**I**T is abundantly clear that continuation of present rates of population growth in the world can only lead to conflict in competing for living space, be a deterrent to general economic well-being, and be fraught with disruptive influences in family life and personal development.

Man has demonstrated his ability to control his environment in important ways, but in general he has not demonstrated his ability to develop rational control of his numbers . . . . The impending crisis in world population can very well occur without an increase in the birth rate and may even confront mankind should birth rates decline. It should be clear that we have "death control," but we have not balanced the equation with an equally energetic and rational attack on the control of births.

An average annual increase of about three million persons during the decade of the 1950's in the United States represents about a fifty

percent increase over the volume of growth experienced in the 1940's. This growth along with the shift or redistribution of population has created serious problems both for the metropolitan areas which are gaining population and for rural areas which are losing people.

The present needs of country and city governments are particularly acute in such areas as education, housing, unemployment and automation, highways, and other services and facilities for day-to-day living. Increasingly, local governments are being pressed beyond their tax and other revenue resources to support necessary services. Consequently, growth of metropolitan areas and decline of "out-of-state" areas has brought questions of the responsibilities of different governmental levels, i.e., local, state, federal, and questions of representation and apportionment.

**S**TEPS should be taken to lower our rate of growth by:

1. Development within the schools, religious organizations, and other cultural media of a sense of responsibility concerning marriage and parenthood, including the responsibility of bringing into the world only those children whom parents are prepared adequately to care for and educate.

2. Support of the United States Senate Resolution introduced by Senators Clark and Gruening requesting the President "to create a Presidential

Commission on Population which shall be charged with the duty to inform, after investigation, the Government and the American people of the nature of population problems at home and abroad."

3. That there be established Governor's commissions on population in the various states which shall have the responsibility of a continuing program.

4. Assumption of responsibility by federal, state, and local government for making available to everyone information concerning regulation of births, and providing services to persons compatible with the religious and ethical beliefs of the individual recipient.

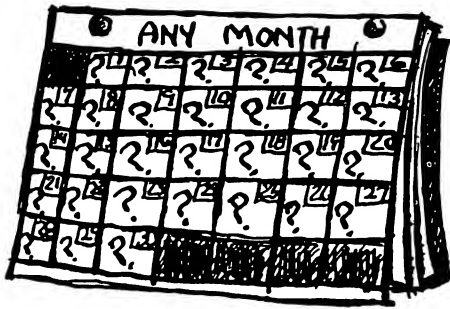
**W**ITH respect to world population policy, the Assembly urges that:

1. The rate of population increase in the world should be reduced as rapidly as possible.

2. Information, techniques, and support of services concerning limitation of family size should be supplied at the request of any country and that it accompany our aid program, but adoption of birth control should not be a condition for the receiving of aid.

3. We support the Fulbright amendment to the 1964 foreign aid authorization bill of the Agency for International Development to allow funds to be made available to conduct research into the problems of population growth.





medical, religious or other sources in the community and elects to attend such a clinic, the cost of transportation may be allowed in accordance with established procedure."

Until September 1962, birth control referrals or services were thus virtually excluded from public agencies through quiet administrative procedures. Those who sought a change found it difficult to bring the "run-around" to a halt and, even more difficult, to bring the issue to public attention. Catholic spokesman made no statements about the matter. The medical director of Cook County Hospital, Dr. Karl Meyer, is a Protestant, and the Chicago Health Commissioner, Dr. Samuel Andelman, is a Jew. They, obviously, were not restrained by the discipline of their own religious denominations. Yet there was a strong feeling that the stalemate had resulted from a fear of offending Roman Catholics. Off-the-record conversations with hospital administrators, officials, doctors, and nurses revealed a fear of committing professional suicide by advocating a change in policy. Even the press had not been willing to present the total story. Most of the news stories that appeared had been in the *Chicago Daily News*, which was willing to run a series giving the history of the agitation for public birth control services. For printing this series, the *News* received a Pulitzer award. That the suppression of information or services was not a direct request from Roman Catholic authorities was confirmed by an informal discussion with a clergyman who is active in the field of family relations. While he did not wish to be quoted verbatim, or identified, he indicated that the Church had not been solicited for an explicit ruling, nor had it issued any directive or request to public agencies.

THE impasse in Cook County Hospital, the Department of Public Aid, and the Chicago Board of Health, obviously resulted because a policy which is religiously controversial was controlled by elected officials or their appointees. They, quite understandably, wished to avoid giving offense to any segment of their constituencies. They tried to abstain from taking a stand which was favored by one group and opposed by another. They would then of necessity antagonize some of the voters. On the question of birth control, they fell back on the precedent of providing no services. The administrators would have been content to maintain the status quo were it not for the mounting pressure of the non-Catholic community as expressed through the Chicago Church Federation and the Planned Parenthood Association. In an effort to find a solution which was politically safe, several offers were made to provide services on the condition that there be no publicity. Since this could not be assured, the strategy of denying services without

making a public policy statement to that effect was resorted to. It explains the constant "run-around" to which advocates of birth control were subjected. The officials never said "no," but they succeeded in delaying implementation indefinitely. It should be noted that at no time was an effort made to bring together the various religious spokesmen of the community in an effort to ascertain the areas of agreement and disagreement.

What happens when there is no such clarification is demonstrated by the sequence of events in the Illinois Public Aid Commission. This department was receiving rather severe criticism for its Aid to Dependent Children and Public Assistance Program. This subject had become a matter of political concern and controversy. The State of Illinois was undergoing a financial crisis and sought emergency means to maintain its relief program. Many considered ADC wasteful and a means of encouraging dependency, illegitimacy, and desertion. 47 per cent of the children on the rolls of ADC in Cook County are illegitimate. In October 1962 there were 64,358 illegitimate children on the rolls of IPAC, and 27,877 of them were born after their mothers had started to receive aid for dependent children. The rising costs have been in an almost straight upward line. In July 1950, there were some 50,000 recipients, at a monthly cost of approximately \$1.4 million. In July 1960, there were more than 100,000 recipients, at a cost per month of \$4.4 million. In June 1962, the cost rose to \$9.3 millions. The Greenleigh study, financed jointly by the Board of County Commissioners, the Illinois Public Aid Commission, and the Bureau of Public Assistance of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, revealed that most of the ADC mothers interviewed did not wish large families and desperately wanted help but did not know where to go.

A break-through occurred in September 1962, with the appointment of Harold Swank as executive secretary of the Illinois Public Aid Commission. He announced that upon the completion of some exploratory studies, he would ask the Commission to authorize referrals to Planned Parenthood or any other private facility offering these services. He would also classify them as an appropriate medical cost.

At its November meeting, the Illinois Public Aid Commission considered the proposal and voted to withhold action until the December meeting in order to hold public hearings. In December, after heated debate, it approved by a vote of six to four the following policy:

That this Commission adopt a policy of providing financial assistance for family planning for any recipient with a spouse or a child, who requests such assistance, including payment for services and prescriptions of physicians.

The rules and regulations were left to be worked out by the staff and to be presented for approval at a later meeting. The four opposing votes were all cast by Roman Catholic members of the I.P.A.C. During the period leading up to this final vote, a full-fledged public debate ensued, not only at the hearings but in the columns of the public press, and especially in the "Letters to the Editor." It is at this point that smoldering resentments and criticisms of Catholic policy erupted. There were charges that a religious minority was trying to impose its rules and policies on the majority. Official spokesmen of the Catholic Church also participated in public expressions of opinion.

The arguments fell into three areas:

1. *We are subsidizing sin.* "The proposed free



monthly distribution of contraceptives to women who are unmarried, deserted or divorced, will facilitate (at taxpayers' expense) the commission of these crimes (illicit relationships including prostitution) without danger of pregnancy.

The opposition asserted that we are already subsidizing sin by supporting the fruits of sin for 18 years. A professor of social service asked: "Which is the greater immorality — for a woman to commit an illicit sexual act or for a rational society to say it will provide no way of halting the physiological process that results?"

The Classis of Chicago of the Reformed Church in America stated:

"The truth is that in this area we are forced to make a choice between two evils . . . It is true that unmarried women ought not to be engaged in sexual activities that result in pregnancy. But we fail to see where the withholding of birth control information has had any success in stopping them.

All that has happened as a result of the public policy of refusing to give them this information when they requested it was that an unwanted child resulted from their immorality.

And this we see as not just doubling the sin, but compounding it many more times, as the normal expectation for such children is a life of misery, crime, dependence on society, and a hopeless eternity."

2. *State subsidy approaches coercion.* The chairman of the Cana Conference stated: "We object to the implied coercion that an active policy by the IPAC would carry." It is an encroachment upon freedom of choice.

The opposition pointed out that relief clients will be amply protected by administrative regulations from coercion. Actually, the withholding of birth control services from the lowest-income group in effect limits their freedom of choice, since they do not have the option of using and paying for the services of a private doctor.

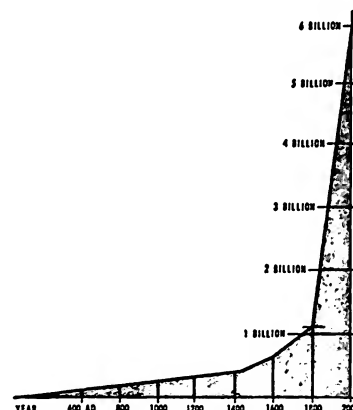
3. *Birth control is only the beginning of more drastic measures, such as state-supported divorce, abortion, sterilization, and mercy-killing.* A priest wrote to a newspaper:

"Remember how the spiritual cancer of the extermination camps spread in Nazi Germany . . . First the suggestion of state-supported birth control . . . Immediately following it was a proposal for state-supported divorce . . . State supported abortion and mercy-killing are in the area of real possibilities."

The opposition answered that this was a *reductio ad absurdum* and that we would be free to control any action beyond that sanctioned by the law.

**B**EFORE the initiation of the program of the IPAC, on April 1, a court injunction was sought which in effect restricted the provision of family-planning assistance to married women living with their husbands. An interesting sidelight was thrown on the conduct of a Catholic state official who found his political responsibility in conflict with his religious views. The Attorney General of the State of Illinois, who is the official lawyer for the Public Aid Commission, did not take the side of the

## POPULATION EXPLOSION?



majority of the Commission during the injunction proceedings. Instead, he agreed to the requested Superior Court injunction, thus requiring the five members of the IPAC who had approved the program to engage private counsel. The Court withheld a decision pending action by the state legislature.

An effort to thwart the implementation of the birth control resolution of the IPAC was made in the Illinois Senate. A bill was passed which would have limited the use of public funds for providing contraceptive devices or information to married women living with their husbands. This limitation would automatically eliminate about 85 per cent of the women receiving aid for dependent children, since they are either unwed or not living with their spouses. The bill was passed in the Illinois Senate on April 3, 1963.

A parallel measure, introduced into the State House of Representatives, never came to a vote since a filibuster against it had been threatened. A compromise was finally worked out which provided that a fifteen-member commission be appointed to study the birth-control problem including the question of extending aid to unmarried relief recipients. This Commission, made up of five senators, five representatives, and five public members appointed by the Governor, would report back by March 1, 1965. In the meantime no statutory prohibition against birth control was passed, and the Governor agreed that state funds would be spent only for married women living with their husbands. The executive secretary of the IPAC reported that since the inception of the program on April 1, through the month of June, about 1,000 relief recipients had received contraceptive services. Despite the severe limitation on eligible applicants, it is clear, as the former head of the IPAC stated, that "Illinois is now on record with a family-planning program."

**A**N analysis of the public discussion reveals that most of the opposition was directed against state support of contraceptive services for the unwed. Practically nothing was said during the active period of debate about denying family planning aid to legitimately married non-Catholic women who request such aid. Yet, before any challenge occurred, there existed a virtual ban on *any* kind of contraceptive service or advice to *all* people. As the issue emerged into the open, responsible opinion had to be formulated. On this level it became clear that the official spokesmen of Catholicism might not be as restrictive in their views as many laymen supposed. It also became clear that the general public would not accept the total administrative ban as it had existed.

*It may be suggested that those responsible for formulating policy could have avoided much interfaith acrimony*



and friction had they sought out informed opinion of Church officials. They should not have judged or tried to infer what the stand would be on the basis of hearsay or rumor. Conversely, Church authorities should have been more alert to set forth guidelines for the aid of those who formulate policy.

Many questions have not yet been clearly answered. Does the Catholic Church object to referrals to medical sources by staff members of public agencies when their clients ask about family planning? Does it object to the distribution, by public agencies, of literature giving contraceptive advice? Does the Church oppose contraceptive services in government-supported hospitals when the services are requested by patients? Does it object to the giving of advice or services even to non-Catholics? Is the objection to government payment for contraceptive services to women on relief limited to the unwed?

There are Catholic views which are too little known by Protestants. For example, the Rev. John F. Cronin, S.J., Assistant Director of the Social Action Department of the NCWC, said at a Social Institute session at Boston College: "It is at least imprudent, and frequently unjust, to enforce by law moral concepts in which we do not at least have a substantial community consensus."

The essential divergence of opinion seems to center around the means to be employed rather than the ends to be achieved. There is a growing awareness in all religious groups that responsible parenthood is a moral imperative, and that the limitation of the size of families may be required. There is a substantive agreement on ends. The controversy centers around the means. The Church objects to artificial devices to prevent conception, but Catholic authorities have approved of so-called natural methods, rhythm and sexual continence. It may therefore not be too optimistic to hope for a solution that will meet the needs of each citizen in conformity with his religious tradition, and prevent the intrusion of the state upon the disciplines of any group. The subject, however, must not be swept under the carpet and left to politically-motivated administrative solutions; neither must it be left to erupt into the arena of intemperate and poorly-informed public debate.

The techniques of the dialogue on the highest level, with a frank exchange of opinions, is now urgently required. We are ready for constructive statesmanship.



Ralph Simon is Rabbi of the Congregation Rodfei Zedek in Chicago.

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## Urban Renewal In University City

EVER since urban renewal funds were voted two years ago, University City, Mo., residents have waited for construction of a distinguished shopping center in the "Delmar Loop."

The Loop, a tightly belted business district must be cleared and improved at a cost of \$4,000,000 to make way for a business center which should run at least another \$9,000,000. Execution of its much-delayed urban renewal program begins this month with the rehabilitation of a blighted apartment area. It will take determination and imagination to assure the kind of commercial redevelopment which avoids mediocrity. Can a developer be found who is willing to invest extra money to design an urban business center with quality and flair?

One planning expert flatly says no developer can be found to invest more than the minimum in design. The cost of properly constructing a city retail center is three times as great as throwing up some buildings on a large parking lot dedicated to the automobile.

The local Chamber of Commerce, which has vigorously backed renewal, is much more optimistic. It has formed a Development Corporation which claims enough seed capital to finance the center, attract a small department store, and successfully meet design requirements. The corporation has immediate promises of \$2,000,000 in share purchases, and is confident of raising up to \$6,000,000.

A spokesman for the Urban Renewal Authority assumed a more cautious optimism. "A developer might find it difficult to earn the usual returns with our requirements," planner Sam Dardick said. "But we might subsidize such loss items as special parking facilities so the overall design would be sound." He emphasized that every recent development in the St. Louis area which has

offered originality — such as Gaslight Square, the Maryland shopping area or Euclid-McPherson area — has been successful.

A major factor in the quality of the center could be the willingness of nearby Washington University to provide an investment boost to the area. To date, the University has indicated little interest.

UNIVERSITY City has a population of 51,000. A city-suburb, it is spread over 5.9 square miles to the west of St. Louis. It is a bedroom community with no large industries or enterprises to share the tax burden.

Over the years since its founding in 1902, University City has developed a reputation as a community with culturally and intellectually active residents. It has the potential of the Hyde Park-Kenwood area in Chicago. It has had a council-city manager government since 1947 and tolerates high taxes to support an outstanding school system. The population is cosmopolitan and includes faculty families of Washington University.

The city's eastern edge, molded around the main business district (named for the "Loop" made by the streetcar line), has gradually deteriorated. A sizeable area of once-popular three-story walk-up apartments became obsolete and are neglected. Local purchasing power dropped, and many of the fine specialty shops moved away.

A Land Clearance for Redevelopment Authority finally was created as a community program to emphasize rehabilitation rather than the clearance associated with most renewal.

The renewal is now underway with limited land clearance and rehabilitation of buildings in the Eastgate-Westgate area. Later Cunningham Park with its light industry will be cleared for a landscaped industrial park.

Plans for the clearance and redevelopment of the 12-acre Delmar Loop area are to be submitted for government approval in May, with the execution scheduled for late 1964.

The presence of Washington University greatly influences the project. A walkway is being developed to the University between residential areas as far as Millbrook Boulevard, a major traffic artery at the school's edge. (A recently defeated county bond issue would have provided funds for an overpass.)

Increasing numbers of graduate students live in apartments surrounding the Loop, and faculty families are regular store customers. A book store and music shop are the area's busiest, which leads to the many suggestions for a center designed with the university "flavor" in mind.

The shopping center, to be erected on cleared land north of Delmar, will have some 100,000 square feet of retail space with provision for 1320 car spaces in the area. Unlike centers carved out of farm land, the Loop center must rise among developed surroundings and retain walk-in accessibility and attractive relationships to city offices.

"We definitely want an integrated feeling with residential areas, not only in space but in time," Dardick said. "This should be a daytime and nighttime center, offering a variety of attractions, a meeting hall, and extended shopping hours." As for the parking problem, "I would expect we might have to go to underground parking or parking garages."

It is this type of expense which makes Washington U. professor and architect, Roger Montgomery, refer to the center as a "difficult undertaking." Prof. Montgomery, who spent a year's leave in the Urban Renewal office in Washington, had high praise for the local authority staff, but he feels the limited economic return will bring few development offers of the quality desired. He definitely approves of the planned "land sell" policy. Unlike some urban renewal offices, University City will set a fixed price on land, and will choose developers not on how much they bid, but only on the basis of how the designs will contribute to the beauty, stabilization, and revenue-producing capabilities of the area.

Although the Authority cannot dictate the design of the center, it

(continued on page 28)

FOCUS/Midwest





Irving  
Dilliard

Writer and lecturer, Irving Dilliard is known for his practice and defense of civil liberties. His writings have been distinguished by his knowledge of our judicial system and by his insight into the ways and byways of our political life. He is a trustee of the University of Illinois and the former editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial page. At present he is a visiting professor at Princeton University.

## DISSENT ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

*(The University of Illinois Board of Trustees voted 8:1 to condemn the writings of Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, professor of classics, who slandered President Kennedy in a Birch Society magazine. However, they rejected disciplinary action against the classics professor. Except for Irving Dilliard, the Board approved a report by the University of Illinois faculty committee on academic freedom and tenure which found that action against Oliver "is not indicated." The report declared: "He must have the right to be ungloriously wrong, and suffer the professional consequences thereof, as to be gloriously right and receive the acclaim of his professional colleagues therefor. Thus, when abuses occur and the public image of a great university is somewhat tarnished as a result, it must be recognized that the larger gain is the brighter image of the university presented to the scholarly world of an institution dedicated to the advancement of knowledge and learning and one willing to pay the price for strict adherence to this ideal." Following is the official statement by Irving Dilliard, explaining his "no" vote.)*

"Mr. President: The Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois has before it at this time the most difficult, complex, distasteful, and embarrassing problem that has confronted the Board in the nearly four years since I was elected a Trustee. From coast to coast the good name of the University of Illinois has been associated inevitably with an outrageous attack on the loyalty of an assassinated President who, as it happens, almost lost his life in the heroic service of our country in World War II. After the first attack and since we took action concerning it at our February 19 meeting, the same member of the University's faculty has leveled a similar assault on the integrity of the Chief Justice of the United States. In each case the publication appeared in a magazine connected with the John Birch Society.

"As a citizen of Illinois, as well as a member of this Board, I support fully the fundamental principle of academic freedom, founded on the historic American guarantee of freedom of mind and speech, with the widest possible latitude for every University of Illinois scholar to inquire and expound, in the light of his intelligence and of his learning, and according to his conscience. I also recognize, and, in so far as it may be my official duty, to do so, I

encourage the separate role of the university scholar as a participating citizen in a society of many differing attitudes and opinions. At the same time, I regard the academic man's search for truth, with its scrupulous documentation of supporting evidence as the indispensable hallmark of accurate and trustworthy research by the university teacher and scholar. Freedom of inquiry is both cherished right and unshirkable responsibility. Nowhere is this more true than on a university faculty dedicated to the education of citizens and the advancement of knowledge.

"I appreciate, in the statement before us, the careful thought and earnest deliberation on the part of the President of the University and of its Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. However, the statement does not go far enough for me in three major respects:

"First, it does not declare with sufficient fervor for me the devotion of the University of Illinois to free inquiry and expression.

"Second, it does not sufficiently for me disavow and disassociate the University of Illinois from the disgraceful reflections against the martyred President and the sitting Chief Justice of the United States who is now conducting an investigation of that still shocking tragedy.

"Third, it does not assert with sufficient force for me that a University of Illinois scholar, be his field Greek and Latin or current history and contemporary political science, has an obligation to back up his conclusions with weighed and tested facts. If there is proof let it be forth coming in the spirit and method of true academic inquiry and scholarship. If proof is not forthcoming let that be established for all to see.

"I know of no way to vote for the resolution before us and at the same time express what are to me these most important considerations which I have just enumerated.

"The vote I will cast is not in any way a criticism of the quality or sincerity of the statement before us. I admire both the quality and the sincerity. Neither will my vote constitute in any way an opinion in advance on any proceeding that may or may not arise later. And so with reluctance and for the reasons stated I will vote No. I request that this account of my position be a part of the record of the vote I cast in order that there be no misunderstanding."





## John G. Neihardt — Poet of the West / Lucile F. Aly

Last year when the state of Nebraska, in ceremonies at the Capitol, unveiled a bronze bust of the poet John G. Neihardt, one could only rejoice at this tribute to a distinguished writer who merits honor, praise, and much wider attention than he has received in recent years.

Although Neihardt is best known for his epic "A Cycle of the West," his work includes short stories, novels, lectures, critical essays, and lyrics. The five *Songs* that compose the "Cycle" stand as Neihardt's most significant literary achievement; he devoted twenty-eight years of his life to writing them and considers them his major work. But his other writings, particularly the lyrics and "Black Elk Speaks," deserve a revival of interest.

In the sixty years of his literary career, Neihardt has consistently held the respect of a small group of professional critics, but the historians have, on the whole, been more knowledgeable than the literary academicians about Neihardt's work. Bernard DeVoto, Frank Luther Mott, Lewis Atherton, Dale Morgan, and others have credited him with directing attention to the exploits of Jed Smith and to pioneering in the literary presentation of the mountain man as a realistic American hero. The opening of the literary West, not in the dime-novel stereotype or as the

western television fantasy, but as a moving statement of human experience, may be Neihardt's permanent contribution to our literature.

Neihardt's earliest reputation came from his short stories, published from 1900 to around 1910 in such popular magazines as *Munsey's*, *Smart Set*, *Outing*, *Overland Monthly*, and the *American*. These stories, frequently drawn from intimate acquaintance with the Omaha Indians, rightly deserve a place in our permanent literature as unique artistic achievements. The poignant little story, "Vylín," for example, suggests with exquisite skill the tragedy inherent in the inability of two cultures to communicate. "The Last Thunder Song," perhaps as sharply as anything in literature, catches the sadness of a vanishing culture in the infinite pathos of an old Indian's recognition that the way of life he loved was irretrievably finished. "The Alien," which has been compared with Balzac's "Passion in the Desert," one of the best of the stories, presents an unusual analysis of savage and civilized values.

In these tales and others, the treatment of Indians and Indian life emerges as a significant element in Neihardt's writing, offering a view of the red man seldom found in literature. Neihardt neither idealizes nor victimizes Indians. He sees them

simply as men who sometimes try to preserve a way of life dear to them by fighting desperately against an unconquerable enemy — "heroic flesh at grapple with a god"; sometimes he shows them in anger, not unprovoked, savagely teaching wounded captives "what hells are made of wrath." The Indian has not fared well in literature as a man; too often he has been a conveniently terrifying villain, a picturesque phenomenon in blanket and feathers, or a sentimentalized figure on which to drape the white man's racial tolerance. Though various writers—Mary Austin, Oliver LaFarge, and Constance Lindsay Skinner — have sought to understand Indian culture and have pictured it sympathetically, Neihardt attempts to present the Indian as he sees himself. Not many white men have penetrated the reserve of Indians sufficiently to see their culture from the inside. That Neihardt did is a tribute to his human sympathies. He once explained to his friend Julius T. House:

I am not interested in *Indians* as *Indians* — only as people in a peculiar situation. Human nature in the grip of fate — not Indian nature as a curiosity — interests me. And their poetry interests me only because it is human and poetry. I'm perhaps the only writer who feels in this way. Had they been Chinese or Japs or Zulus in a similar situation, my interest would have been the same.

One of the most significant books, "Black Elk Speaks," has aroused the interest of anthropologists as well as literary critics because of its authentic expression of Sioux culture. Neihardt so completely won the confidence of Black Elk that he was allowed to hear the old man's power vision. Such a disclosure to a white man was rare, if not unprecedented, and Neihardt's sensitive presentation of the vision and the Sioux ethos vindicated the old man's judgment in revealing it.

Neihardt's chief preoccupation, however, has been with poetry, not Indians. The lyrics in his early years and the "Cycle" in his maturity were the focal point of his highest dedication. In 1900 he had published "The Divine Enchantment," a long poem he described as a "rhapsody," which reflected the strong influence of Hindu mysticism on his thinking. Though the little book received some critical commendation, Neihardt's exacting stand-



ards led him to see faults in it that seemed to him to warrant its obliteration. He bought up and burned all the copies he could find. The few that survive are collectors' items. Although obviously lacking the finish and control of his mature work, the poetry is not so devoid of beauty or merit as he thought.

"A Bundle of Myrrh," the collection of lyrics that appeared in 1907, had created a stir in New York literary circles while it was still in manuscript, and its reviews were enthusiastic. That these poems have not been examined by literary historians is surprising, for in them Neihardt was experimenting with free-verse forms and sounding the erotic note well before the outburst of "new" poetry that came around 1912. In "Man-Song" and "Stranger at the Gate," Neihardt rounded out the series of love poems begun in "Myrrh." Put together they show progression from the adolescent period of love to the arrival at maturity. The sequence culminates in the wedding night. A second series, in "Stranger at the Gate," describes the attitudes of a father in the months before the birth of the first child.

At the age of thirty, Neihardt stopped writing lyrics. He believed they belonged to youth and wanted to turn his mature talents to more objective themes. The "Cycle of the West," which absorbed his creative energies in the succeeding years, is Neihardt's masterwork. By way of preparation for the "Cycle," he descended the Missouri River from its headwaters in a light boat in 1908. The epic "Cycle of the West" tells the sweeping story of the exploration of the West by the trapper-traders, the gradual penetration of white settlers and the consequent displacement of the Indians. Using the Ashley-Henry expeditions of 1822 and 1823 as a starting point, he develops his theme through the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890 which marked the end of Indian resistance on the plains. In the five "Songs" or books he centers on Mike Fink and his friends, Hugh Glass and Jed Smith; then, on a widened canvas, he describes the Indian wars and finally the Messiah movement among the Indians that ended at Wounded Knee.

The "Cycle" has been variously

evaluated — as "history come alive in the light of poetic vision" and as "great American documents." It has been attacked as pretentious narrative, over-inflating men inferior to heroes. The verse has been criticized as too old-fashioned for the public to accept, stilted and self-conscious with imitations of classic epic phrases. It also has been praised as full of virile idiom and majesty.

To see the "Cycle" as literary portrayal of history or to argue whether it fits any stipulative definition of an epic is to miss the point. Neihardt was not preoccupied with writing history, literary or otherwise. His thesis is the essential nobility of the human spirit, the capacity for heroism in the meanest man, the "duty and the beauty of endeavor." He sees values on a vertical, not a horizontal scale, and courage is the "indispensable virtue." The "Cycle" pays tribute to physical courage in Mike Fink and his comrades, on a higher level to magnanimity in Hugh Glass, to spiritual force and the sense of harmony with the universe in Jed Smith, and in the Indian Wars and the Messiah to human heroism, sacrifice, self-discovery. If the "Cycle" is epic, it is epic in the old classical sense of extolling the greatness of the human spirit, the universal tragedy of suffering and sacrifice — the "tears of things," or, to use one of Neihardt's favorite phrases, "the music of what happens." Human values are Neihardt's theme; the struggle of man against odds, and the ways in which man may triumph.

Whether an affirmative poet like Neihardt can attract a serious audience in a dispirited and fearful age is a question that remains to be answered. What is certain is that in a period of disillusioned and pessimistic literature Neihardt, now 82 years old and poet-in-residence at the University of Missouri, has stood almost alone in writing traditionally affirmative poetry.

#### From THE SONG OF THE INDIAN WARS

*John G. Neihardt*

Now Crazy Horse's people, turning west,  
Retraced the trail of ruin, sick for home.  
Where myriads of the bison used to roam,  
And fatten in the golden autumn drowse,  
A few rejected bulls and barren cows  
Grew yet a little leaner. Every place  
The good old earth, with ashes on her face,  
Was like a childless mother in despair;  
Though still she kept with jealous, loving care  
Some little hoard of all her youth had known  
Against the dear returning of her own;  
But where the starving herd of ponies passed,  
The little shielded hollows, lately grassed,  
Were stricken barren even as with fire.  
And so they reached the place of their desire,  
The deep-carved valley where the Powder flows.  
Here surely there was peace.

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#### From SONG OF THE MESSIAH

*John G. Neihardt*

A holy stillness filled the solitude  
That night; and tenderly the stars bent low  
To share with men the faith that grasses know  
And trees are patient with it. All the bare  
Hushed hilltops listened and became aware  
How nothing in the whole world was afraid.  
And when the moon came, withered and delayed,  
Like some old woman wedded to the crutch,  
She seemed as one who, having mothered much,  
Must mother yet wherever there is sorrow.

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Lucile F. Aly is assistant professor of English at the University of Oregon. She grew up in Kansas City, Missouri, and is a graduate of Kansas City Junior College, the University of Missouri and Columbia University. Mrs. Aly taught at the University of Missouri and the University of Hawaii before moving to Oregon in 1957. She is presently preparing a biography of John G. Neihardt.

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Short Story by Jack Mathews

## THE DEPARTURE

**B**RUCE, my older brother, was six feet tall when he was sixteen years old. My father had fixed a basket on the gable of our garage several years before so that he could practice. I can remember the constant sound of Bruce's dribbling the heavy, water-soaked basketball as he approached the basket, then the pause, the thud and tinny rattle as the ball circled through the basket.

I was only a year younger than Bruce, but I showed no signs of becoming tall enough for basketball, so Dad more-or-less ignored me. I wasn't disappointed; I hated the game.

All summer, and most of the autumn before Bruce's second try-out for the varsity, Dad coached him in dribbling, zone defenses, full-court presses, and shooting. He got a lawn chair out and sat watching him, studying every move. At the end of each practice, Bruce would have to shoot fifty baskets, while Dad took notes, made observations, and kept a precise record of my brother's accuracy.

By cold weather, Bruce was averaging about thirty-six baskets out of fifty tried. Dad said this wasn't bad, but he'd have to remember that he wasn't being guarded (even though Dad had him shoot from all the difficult angles and postures he could think of), and it would be a whole lot tougher in a real game. But you could tell that Dad was pretty well-satisfied with Bruce's development.

And, of course, he was even more pleased when Bruce made the varsity.

"That's not bad," Dad said, "when you consider you haven't got all your growth yet."

By this time, Bruce was six feet one and one-half inches tall.

The house was pretty tense as the first game approached. Coach Welker had said he was going to use Bruce, although he didn't know how much, since a more experienced senior was starting in Bruce's position.

On the evening of the first game, everyone in the family ate silently. Even mother seemed caught up in

the sense of crisis. Dad told us all later that he had wrestled in his mind during the meal whether to keep checking Bruce on his moves, to be sure he knew them instinctively, or just keep quiet and let him unwind a little if he could. As it was, Dad's silence was more unnerving to us, I think, than talk would have been.

After the meal, I went upstairs to study. It was Friday evening, and I was not a conscientious student; but for some reason I felt the need to read a history assignment.

It was a cold December night, shortly before Christmas. But the family was not thinking of Christmas at all (even though we had a Christmas tree in the front room), but of the game tonight. A frigid sleet was falling. I sat at my desk and read from the pages of our history book about Henry the Navigator.

Before long, Bruce came up and lay down on the bed. I didn't pay much attention to him, until Dad came up. I heard him walking on the stairs, and for some reason I glanced at Bruce. I can't tell you what look was on his face; it was something I wasn't experienced enough to identify. It wasn't anything as direct or crude as hate, anxiety, or determination. It was simply strange — that's all I can remember.

Anyway, Dad came into the room and said, "Bruce, I want you to pray with me."

He said it in a very calm voice, but his face was dark with intensity and conviction. I didn't know what I should do; I know I blushed, and I could sense that Bruce was blushing. But I couldn't move.

"You stay here," Dad said to me, sensing that I was thinking of leaving. "You're always leaving, every time I look at you."

For a moment he stood there, while Bruce still sat on the bed, and I still sat at my desk.

"All three of us," Dad said. "And I think we should get right down on our knees."

We all got down on our knees, and Dad said, "Oh Lord and Blessed Jesus who knows all of our wants and desires before we ourselves are aware of them, grant to this inexperienced boy, my son, the courage and skill and stamina to bring pride and honor to all of us. Give him the desire to excel in this contest tonight, so that he will have it as a memory of excellence and beauty to cherish throughout his long, long



life. In the name of Jesus we pray. Amen."

Bruce and I repeated "Amen," and Dad left the room.

THE season went very well for the team, and early in March we had to go to a play-off with Birchfield to decide the league championship. Bruce had played enough in the first five games to get his letter. Coach Welker was not dazzled by his ability, but he told Dad once that Bruce had the determination to develop into a first-string player.

"That's good enough for now," Dad told us. "That's a pretty good base to build on. I'd rather have him show all the solid qualities now, rather than an erratic brilliance. I want him to be methodical, efficient and as cold as ice out there on the court. I want him to be supremely confident." (He would talk like this to us as if Bruce weren't sitting right there at the dinner table listening.) "But now, we have to think of this championship."

Bruce played quite a bit in the championship, and he did very well, scoring eight points and getting his share of rebounds. We were aware by now that he had developed so well during this first season that Coach Welker could put him in with no noticeable loss of efficiency; he had become a first-string player.

We won the play-off in an exciting overtime. I remember running down onto the floor, where there was already a scramble of fans and hometown players. Bruce and another boy lifted the smallest player — Gary Warner — up to cut the net down from the basket, to keep as the traditional symbol of the league championship after a play-off.

People were dancing and screaming and shoving as if our town had just beaten off an attack of enemy soldiers. You couldn't even see any Birchfield players by now.

I remember looking up at Gary Warner, sitting high on the shoulders of Bruce and someone else (although I couldn't see him), sawing a pen knife in swift motions at the net. It was stubborn — it must have been tough material.

Then the crowd suddenly jammed against the boys, and I saw Gary swing backwards, falling. For an instant, things seemed to be suspended in silence, or in a kind of smoky dream (at least, this is the way it seems now, in retrospect). Then I

remember hearing someone say that Bruce had been cut in the face.

"Jesus, it's bad!" a young boy said, turning to me.

But I couldn't see Bruce. The crowd suddenly seemed very silent, and they all seemed to be struggling, as if they were in an inscrutable tug-of-war, or all wading in a strong, but invisible current of water.

I managed to get up to Bruce, who was holding both hands over his eye and inhaling in long hisses of pain. Gary Warner was standing there, looking at me and holding the bloody knife out. I have never seen blood look so bright. "I couldn't help it!" he said. "Somebody shoved us, and I went over backwards. I just put my hand out automatically; you know, to catch myself from falling. And it went right in his eye. The knife did."

I have no idea where Dad was, but several of us got Bruce into the car and took him to the emergency room at the hospital. They did all they could, but the eye was too badly damaged. We knew the next day that Bruce would never see out of it again.

YOU would have thought that it would be Dad who would break up over Bruce's accident, but it wasn't. It was Mother, and Margie, my young sister. Mother cried a lot, and Margie kept asking questions all the time about his eye when Bruce wasn't there. I had never seen such a look on her face as when she asked about his eye.

But Dad was silent. He hadn't said one word about the accident. He seemed to accept it as an inevitable thing . . . or rather something in him seemed switched off. He scarcely looked at Bruce. He seemed to have forgotten he had ever been his son. Not that he was cruel, exactly; he just seemed to have forgotten.

When spring came, I remember seeing Dad working in our big yard every evening. He wore an old baseball cap he had worn in college, and he chewed Juicy Fruit gum all the time. He would plant grass seed, pull all the old vines out of the trellises, spade all the flower borders and roll the lawn. He never asked Bruce or me to help.

Meanwhile, Bruce continued to practice with our old water-logged basketball. He would thump it heavily across the cement apron before the

garage, then arc it into the basket, or more often off center against the backboard. Naturally, with only one eye, his depth perception was affected, and his accuracy was poor. I don't think anybody ever asked him why he continued to shoot baskets — surely, he didn't dream that he would ever be able to play basketball with only one eye!

Or perhaps that is precisely what he *did* believe. At any rate, he stayed out there shooting baskets until twilight, and sometimes even after dark, although I don't know how he could see to shoot, since our back yard light was at such an angle that the basketball rim was in deep shadow.

Bruce had always been a pretty good student — mostly B's and a few C's — but now his grades went down. Mother was disturbed. Dad didn't say anything. He had never cared too much about grades, anyway; but now it seemed that he just didn't care about anything at all. It was Mother who signed our grade cards.

BRUCE started working as a carry-out boy in a supermarket. I think I noticed a change in him right away. Maybe it was having his own money and the responsibility of a job. I know that Bruce was considered a fine worker by Mr. Edwards, the manager.

I went into the supermarket once to get some things for Mother. When I stepped inside the door, Bruce passed me going out, his arms squeezed around two bulging sacks. His eye caught mine, and he nodded. But he didn't stop or say anything . . . just kept on going.

Mr. Edwards had been watching us. He put his hand on my shoulder and said: "That brother of yours is sure some worker! Boy, he doesn't stop moving a second."

I said something appropriate and stared at the door he had just gone out of.

"A real quiet boy, isn't he?" Mr. Edwards said, putting both his hands in his pockets and staring at the door, too. "I mean, he doesn't have much to say."

"No, he doesn't talk much," I said. To tell you the truth, I had never thought of Bruce this way; but it was true. He didn't have much to say.

"Too bad about his eye," Mr. Edwards said. "He was playing some good ball, too. A real tragedy. A real tragedy."

I said that it certainly *was* a tragedy. I felt uneasy, as I always did when people mentioned his eye. I never knew what I was supposed to say or how I was supposed to act.

## II

SHE works in a beauty shop," Father said to Mother after dinner. "Why, she's a grown woman. I don't know how old she is, but I know that she's too old for Bruce."

"He always says that he's just out with the boys, at the drive-in or at the movies," Mother said.

"I know that's what he says," Dad answered, "but Dave Potter told me he saw them together Saturday night. I mean, they were at the drive-in, all right. But by golly he wasn't with *any boys*."

"It's natural for him to have dates," Mother said.

"I know it's natural, and I don't object to that aspect at all. It's the *kind* of girl . . . a woman. I wouldn't mind if he went out with one of the girls in his class. After all, he had plenty of dates a year or two ago. Then he stopped. I don't know what got into him, but he just stopped having dates altogether."

"Well," Mother said, hesitating just a little, "there was all of this basketball business. He devoted almost all his free time to basketball. I thought *that* was why he stopped having dates."

Father blinked and ran his hand through his hair. He seemed surprised. He turned and looked slowly at me, and then at Margie. Bruce wasn't there; it was just possible he was out with Susan Belanger, the "grown woman," and we all knew it.

"Well," Father said finally, "don't tell me he couldn't have found time to have a *date* now and then!"

"He was *always* practicing, Daddy!" Margie blurted out. She spoke so seldom that she surprised all of us.

Father swallowed and stared at her.

"I tell you: a person *always* has time for what he considers important," Dad said. For some reason, he was now staring at me, and I wondered if I was supposed to get some kind of lesson from that statement.

"It's the fact that it's not out in the open, too," Father said. "That's the fact that I resent."

"Maybe he's afraid you won't ap-

prove," Mother suggested. "Do you suppose that could be it?"

"What I want to know," Father said, placing his hand palm down, flat on the table and staring at it, "is why everything seems to come back to *me*. I told you, I've never objected to his having a few dates. I didn't two years ago, when he was younger, so why should I now?"

"The fact is," Mother said, "You are objecting."

"I know, but because of the *circumstances* . . . the way he's doing it, not the mere fact that he *is* doing it."

Things seemed to be stretching eerily. How could people talk so reasonably and feel so passionately and blindly? How could they enact calmness in a moment like this? I sensed that everything was being spoken in code, and I couldn't begin to understand.

Suddenly, I yawned fiercely, and announced that I was going to bed. They all stared at me as I left, and I wondered if somehow I too was caught up in their judgment . . . and if, like Bruce, I was being judged through a kind of parable which no one seemed to understand adequately.

I felt unfairly treated. Since Bruce worked every evening, I was the one who had to do most of the work around the house.

One evening, Mother had me helping her clean out the basement. The Salvation Army was coming by the next day, and Mother wanted all of the newspapers and magazines she had been saving in the basement brought upstairs and piled on the back porch.

I collected two stacks and took them up, and then, on my third trip, I stopped to leaf through some sporting magazines. There were the old thumbed-over copies of last fall and winter, and then a few clean copies of more recent date. Staring at the magazines, I realized that the issues since Bruce's accident had hardly been touched. Even Dad had ceased reading them, whereas before he had studied them closely, thumbed over them even at meals, reciting facts and statistics to us as we ate.

I piled the magazines together and carried them up to the back porch. When I came back inside, I heard Father come in the house, calling for Bruce.

"He's at work," I said.

Dad looked troubled. "No he isn't," he said. "And I think it's time for a

showdown. This sort of thing just can't go on."

He called once more for Bruce, and I heard our bedroom door open. Bruce answered in a sleepy voice.

Dad turned to me and said: "Do you know he's been fired? Mr. Edwards called and said he hasn't been to work all this week."

"What is it?" Bruce asked, walking heavily to the top of the stairs. He was in his stocking feet and his hair was mussed-up.

Father said: "I'm afraid we're going to have a talk, son. You and I."

He walked up the steps, and Bruce turned back toward his room. I heard him ask, "What about?"

"I think you know what it's about," Father said.

Then I heard their door closed softly; and then it was slammed a little harder so that it would stay shut.

Two days before commencement, Bruce left home.

I remember the last time I saw him. I was in my room studying — even though the term was over.

I'll never forget the strangeness of seeing tears coming out of Bruce's good eye, while his plastic eye stared at me as dry and impassive as a polished stone.

"I'm leaving," he said. "And I want to say good-by to you, because I think maybe you are the only one around here who understands me."

I was surprised by that. I didn't understand *anything* about my brother.

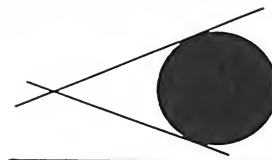
"Susan's moving to Springfield. And I'm going to go there and get a job, and we're going to get married. I want you to have my address, but I don't want any of them to know where I am. I don't want you to tell them a thing. Do you promise?"

I promised. And then I helped Bruce pack his suitcase. It was surprising what things he chose to take: a change of underwear, of course, but also such things as a picture of his graduating class, his gleaming, stainless steel chest expander and an unopened box of cookies he had gotten from the kitchen.

"I don't have much money," he told me, "and I want to make it go a long way. I'm not sure of what I'm going to do, and I may not even stay there; it depends a lot on what Susan wants. But I know one thing, I'll never come back."

(continued on page 28)





## BOOKS

### ADVOCATE RULE BY SUPERMEN

Alvin W. Wolfe

THE GEOGRAPHY OF INTELLECT, *Nathaniel Weyl and Stefan T. Passony* (Henry Regnery Company, \$7.95, 299 pp.)

**T**HIRTY years ago the men who governed Germany argued that Nordics, especially Germans, should dominate the world because they were superior to other "races" such as Jews, Negroes, and Slavs. The authors of "The Geography of Intellect" enlarge this sort of thesis by arguing that Europeans, especially Western Europeans, and Jews from whatever provenience, should be the permanent ruling elite of the world because they show higher average scores on "intelligence tests" than other "races" of "ethnic groups" and because they are the populations which have contributed most of the great ideas of Western Civilization.

Should superior average "intelligence quotient" justify one group's dominance over another group? No society yet, not even one of these "superior" western societies, has chosen its individual political leaders on the basis of I.Q. tests, nor even on marks in school. It is quite remarkable, then, to read that "hereditary intellectual inequality" plays a role in "the rise and fall of civilizations." Most intelligent observers of history will not agree with Weyl and Passony. More important to the fate of nations than pure intellect are the values to which leaders, and followers, are committed. The values men hold are clearly cultural, not innate. A certain group which happens to have a high average intelligence quotient because the tests are made up by members of that group may not hold the kinds of values that would make the group acceptable as the "natural elite" of the universe. The world rejected

German self-nomination; it may reject the nominees of Weyl and Passony as well.

The authors are quite certain Western European man should maintain his leadership, which is being threatened. We should shed notions of equality that inhibit the maintenance of a system which gives the elite the requisite "fundamental conditions" to exert its leadership, "social order and freedom to do its work." In Africa and other regions where there are inferior populations of "Negroids and Melanoids" we should maintain colonialism instead of permitting the expulsion of the European elite. In Latin America we should stop "aiding in collectivist and government-controlled undertakings because these stimulate punitive legislation and taxation which cause capital flight . . . ." At home we should recognize that as a group Negroes are unfitted for intellectual achievement. We should emphasize the best education for the natural, white, elite. "The society which concentrates almost entirely on 'helping' the mediocre and the mentally subnormal does them a disservice."

To demonstrate the intellectual inferiority of Negroes, especially, the

authors work very hard. They use traditional "authorities" to this end: Aristotle, Jesus Christ, Thomas Jefferson, Karl Marx, Abraham Lincoln. They delight in pointing out that Marx used the term "nigger" in deprecating a rival. The authors call repeatedly on certain modern scholars well-known in anthropological circles for the support their writings give to modern racists: Carleton Coon, who believes Negroes were late to "evolve"; Audrey Shuey, who believes intelligence tests prove innate differences between Negroes and whites in the United States; S. D. Porteus, who believes some kinds of intelligence tests are "culture-free" and J. C. Carothers, who believes Negroes in Africa suffer from "frontal idleness." Weyl and Passony reject categorically a vast body of literature and evidence that leads most anthropologists and social scientists generally to conclude that the most valid assumption to be made about "intellect" in different populations is the assumption of rough equality. To Weyl and Passony, however, all who make such an interpretation become "pseudo-intelligentsia."

Their attack on modern intellectuals is particularly interesting in view of the general thesis that intellectuals should rule the world. But which ones? Who should choose them? Weyl and Passony would certainly demote the present academic elite and the present political elite being misled by the former. They say: "The danger is great and the time is short for the healthy forces in the American community to reassert themselves. A prerequisite for such national resurrection is that the pseudo-intelligentsia be supplanted by a genuine creative minority." They believe we need Supermen, who will maintain social order and thus be free to do their work.

### BROUGHT SCHOLARSHIP OF SYNTHESIS TO MIDWEST

Kenneth L. Woodward

JACQUES MARITAIN, THE MAN AND HIS ACHIEVEMENT, edited with an Introduction by *Joseph W. Evans* (Sheed & Ward, \$5.00, 258 pp.)

**J**ACQUES Maritain has been a seminal thinker, not only among

modern Thomistic philosophers, of which he is easily the most significant, but also among men as diverse in interest and talent as Walter Lippmann, T. S. Eliot, and the late Jean Cocteau.

The present volume of thirteen essays is definitely a minority report, the more so because no one of comparable vision or ability is among the

contributors. The bulk of the essays belong to a coterie of admirers, most of them academicians. But as the late Yves Simon observes in the opening essay, Maritain was the first non-scholastic among the followers of St. Thomas Aquinas. His is not a philosophy of professors, but of humanists, working among the enigmas of experience toward an understanding of what we now call existential man.

It was as a metaphysician in the humanistic tradition of Aristotle, Augustine, and Aquinas that the slight French philosopher, then 51 years old, was first invited to lecture in the United States. The time and the place — 1933, the University of Chicago — were propitious. The University's young chancellor, Robert Hutchins, and a small but committed segment of the faculty were engaged in a redirection of formal education.

Part of their program was to bring to the University distinguished scholars and artists, men of vision in all fields. Among them were R. H. Tawney, Igor Stravinsky, T. S. Eliot, Arnold Toynbee, H. S. Bennett, Frank Lloyd Wright, Arnold Schoenberg, and C. H. McIlwain.

But it was Jacques Maritain and his poet-wife, Raissa, who returned again and again throughout that precarious decade when the need for an "integral humanism," as Maritain put it, became more evident beneath the crush and collapse of the Western liberal democracies. By integral humanism he meant the recognition of all those powers which make man more truly human, together with the transformation of the forces of the physical world into instruments of freedom. And if, as a religious thinker, he looked to grace as well as to nature, he was steadfast in the defense of the intellect as capable of both discovering truth and establishing some order amid a disorganized civilization.

Maritain's hopes were typical of those who contributed to what came to be known as "the new scholarship of synthesis in the Midwest." These included, among others, philosopher Mortimer Adler, economic historian John U. Nef, and Notre Dame's Waldamer Gurian, founding editor of *The Review of Politics*.

Faculty opposition to Hutchins and his "neo-Thomism" was sufficiently strong to block repeated attempts to bring Maritain permanently to the campus. Even though he later taught for thirteen years at Princeton, it was principally through his association

with the scholars of synthesis that Maritain had the most lasting influence on American intellectual life.

In the opening essay of this collection, Yves Simon, who taught at both Notre Dame and Chicago, does a magnificent job of locating Maritain and the growth of his thought in the intellectual and political climate of Paris in the early twentieth century. He is perhaps the only contributor who also could have appraised Maritain in terms of his two decades in America. That lack is one of the major disappointments of this collection.

Professor James Collins of St. Louis University comes close, however, in his provocative assessment of Maritain's impact on American Thomists. He concludes that few have followed Maritain into those realms of thought, especially political philosophy and aesthetics, where the spirit rather than the letter of classical Thomism must prevail.

Father Leo Ward of Notre Dame connects several of Maritain's most characteristic ideas and suggests how these might form a comprehensive and progressive philosophy of education. But beyond this there isn't much to recommend in the volume.

Wallace Fowlie, professor of French at the University of Colorado and author of a number of books dealing with the artists whom Maritain knew intimately and admired, fails in his "Maritain the Writer" to relate Maritain's predilection for the essay form to the manner of his thought.

Similarly, Francis Ferguson, a distinguished theoretician of literature in his own right, misses most of the major implications of Maritain's *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry*.

As director of the Jacques Maritain Center at Notre Dame University, Joseph W. Evans, the editor, has devoted himself to encouraging philosophical research along the avenues opened by the man who has been called the only genius among the followers of Aquinas during the past three hundred years.

It's a laudable undertaking. But Maritain was contemporary in every

respect. As this collection demonstrates, we are even more in need of a Midwestern center to continue the kind of scholarship of synthesis in which Maritain's thought first took root in this country.

## BOOKS ON LABOR

Frank McCallister

NEW HORIZONS FOR AMERICAN LABOR, *Joseph A. Beirne* (Public Affairs Press, \$3.25, 89 pp.)

LABOR TODAY — THE TRIUMPHS AND FAILURES OF UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES, *B. J. Widick* (Houghton Mifflin Company, \$3.75.)

Books by labor leaders are so scarce that any addition demands our attention.

"New Horizons for American Labor" is a thin volume by Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America. Mr. Beirne is also vice president and member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and chairman of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee. He was the moving spirit behind the founding of the American Institute for Free Labor Development which has a large program of labor education and housing projects for Latin-

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# THOMAS McAFEE

## Depedida

after Lorca (for James Miles)

The day I die  
leave the casket  
open.

The boy  
across the street  
is eating grapes.

(I see him  
from my window  
now.)

The reaper  
always reaps  
the wheat.

(I hear him  
from my window  
now.)

The day I die  
leave the casket  
open!

## To Another Lady

I lay  
In a tangle of graves  
Till that sweet instant  
When our spirits mixed.

At this,  
Earth was fixed  
Beneath the root  
Of a hickory tree.

Oranges were edible;  
Death, an institute.  
We were total undoing.  
Love was no more a pursuit

Than the hummingbird's  
Or the red bird's  
Or the starling's.  
Love went without words

At all.  
Adam's fall  
Was there already.  
So was Eve's.

Thomas McAfee is the author of a book, "Stories and Poems," and teaches English at the University of Missouri.

Volume III, Number 1

American trade unions financed by government, business, and unions.

In an introduction, Senator Paul H. Douglas describes the book as a "sweeping and often self-critical examination of the American labor scene by one of its most prominent officials."

The book deals primarily with the nature of our work force, the impact of automation, and the likely changes in collective bargaining problems and the tactics of dealing with them.

There is a strong plea for greater use of professional help and for greater concern by trade unionists over broader community issues than just wages, hours and fringe benefits.

Coming from Mr. Beirne's book to "Labor Today" by B. J. Widick is something. Mr. Widick, who served for a time as a union steward and as a research associate on the UAW staff, subtitles his book "The Triumphs and Failures of Unionism in the United States." The title is an error. In fact, the book is a long list of alleged failures of the labor movement. Divided into three sections on automation, losses on the labor front, and labor leadership today, the book and its tone may be judged by the following chapter headings: The Tarnished Image of Labor; Democracy, Oligarchy, and Union Values; The Alienation of the Intellectuals; and The Decline in Political Power. Where are the successes, Mr. Widick? It must have some. Certain critics argue labor is now a member of The Establishment.

In the section on leadership, Mr. Widick limits his darts to four profiles. James R. Hoffa, John L. Lewis (in complete retirement), and Walter Reuther receive generous space, if caustic treatment. George Meany is written off with four pages of harsh criticism.

REVIEWERS: Alvin W. Wolfe is professor of anthropology at Washington University. Kenneth L. Woodward is the former editor of the *North Omaha Sun*. Frank McCallister is director of the Labor Education Division at Roosevelt University.



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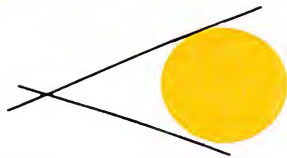
Ade has an importance in American literary history: he links Mark Twain (whom he imitated) with Ernest Hemingway (whom he influenced). — *The New Leader*

Anyone old enough to remember when a six-course dinner cost 75¢ or young enough to wish things might slow down a bit will enjoy Ade. — *Library Journal*

They are cross-sections of Chicago life in the Gay Nineties drawn by a master artist, cameos of Chicago culture when "Lake Shore Drive put on its evening clothes in the afternoon." — *Chicago Sun-Times*

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## VOTING RECORDS

### Congress

#### Key to Symbols:

Y—Voting for the Bill  
N—Voting against the Bill  
A—Absent  
AY—Announced for the Bill  
AN—Announced against the Bill  
PY—Paired for the Bill  
PN—Paired against the Bill  
HR—House Bill  
S—Senate Bill

#### U. S. HOUSE VOTES

(H) **HR 7152.** Civil Rights Act of 1964. Passage of the bill to enforce the right to vote; prevent discrimination in access to public accommodations and public facilities; expedite public school desegregation; extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for four years and broaden its powers; prevent discrimination in the administration of federally assisted programs; prevent discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin in employment and labor union membership; direct Census studies of registration and voting based on race, color and national origin; established a Community Relations Service to mediate racial disputes; and permit the Attorney General to instigate or intervene in certain civil rights cases. Passed 290-130; R 138-34; D 152-96 (ND 141-4; SD 11-92), Feb. 10, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(I) **HR 8363.** Conference report on the Revenue Act of 1964, reducing personal and corporate income tax liabilities by \$11.5 billion over a two-year period. Accepted 326-83; R 108-63; D 218-20 (ND 141-1; SD 77-19), Feb. 25, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(J) **HR 8986.** Passage of the bill raising federal salaries at an increased cost to the Treasury of approximately \$545 million in the first year. Defeated 184-222; R 35-136; D 149-86 (ND 118-19; SD 31-67), March 12, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the position of President Johnson.

**HOUSE**  
**ILLINOIS**

	H	I	J
21 Gray (D)	Y	Y	Y
24 Price (D)	Y	Y	Y
23 Shipley (D)	A	Y	PN
16 Anderson (R)	Y	N	N
17 Arends (R)	Y	Y	N
20 Findley (R)	Y	N	N
14 Hoffman (R)	A	N	Y
12 McClory (R)	Y	N	N
19 McLoskey (R)	Y	N	N
18 Michel (R)	Y	N	Y
15 Reid (R)	Y	N	N
22 Springer (R)	Y	Y	N

**CHICAGO**

1 Dawson (D)	Y	Y	Y
9 Finnegan (D)	Y	Y	Y
5 Kluczynski (D)	Y	Y	Y
7 Libonati (D)	Y	Y	Y
3 Murphy (D)	Y	Y	Y
6 O'Brien (D)	PY	A	PY
2 O'Hara (D)	Y	Y	Y
11 Pucinski (D)	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski (D)	Y	Y	Y
10 Collier (R)	Y	Y	N
4 Derwinski (R)	Y	N	N
13 Rumsfeld (R)	Y	N	N

**MISSOURI**

5 Bolling (D)	Y	Y	Y
9 Cannon (D)	Y	Y	N
6 Hull (D)	N	Y	N
8 Ichord (D)	Y	Y	N

10 Jones (D)	N	Y	N
1 Karsten (D)	Y	Y	Y
4 Randall (D)	Y	Y	N
3 Sullivan (D)	Y	Y	Y
2 Curtis (R)	Y	N	N
7 Hall (R)	N	N	N

#### U. S. SENATE VOTES

(A) **HR 8363** Ribicoff (D Conn.) amendment to allow students or parents a tax credit for college expenses for tuition, books, fees, and similar costs on a sliding scale up to a maximum credit of \$325. Rejected 45-48: R 26-5; D 19-43 (ND 16-24; SD 3-19), Feb. 4, 1964. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(B) **HR 8363.** Douglas (D Ill.) amendment to reduce the 27½ percent oil depletion allowance. Rejected 35-57: R 9-19; D 26-38 (ND 24-19; SD 2-19), Feb. 6, 1964. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

(C) **HR 8363.** Proxmire (D. Wis.) amendment to reduce the 10 percent federal cabaret excise tax to 3 percent. Rejected 30-66: R 14-17; D 16-49 (ND 15-28; SD 1-21), Feb. 7, 1964. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(D) **HR 8363.** Passage of the Revenue Act of 1964, reducing personal and corporate income tax liabilities by \$11.9 billion over a two-year period. Passed 77-21: R 21-10; D 56-11 (ND 41-3; SD 15-8), Feb. 7, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(E) **HR 8363.** Conference report on the Revenue Act of 1964, reducing personal and corporate income tax liabilities by \$11.5 billion over a two-year period. Accepted 74-19: R 21-9; D 53-10 (ND 38-2; SD 15-8), Feb. 26, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(F) **HR 7152.** Civil Rights Act of 1964. Mansfield (D Mont.) motion that the Senate take up the bill. Agreed to 67-17: R 26-0; D 41-17 (ND 37-0; SD 4-17), March 26, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

(G) **HR 7152.** Mansfield (D Mont.) motion to table (reject) Morse (D Ore.) motion to refer the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions that it be reported back April 8. Tabling motion adopted 50-34: R 16-9; D 34-25 (ND 32-6; SD 2-19), March 26, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

SENATE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Dirksen (R. Ill.)	PY	AN	PY	PY	N	Y	N
Douglass (D. Ill.)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long (D. Mo.)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Symington (D. Mo.)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

### UNIVERSITY CITY

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can set "guidelines" for space use, parking requirements, reserved public areas, etc. The development will be shaped by these requirements and how they are respected. Also of economic importance to the development will be the Authority's desire to keep rentals low enough to draw small shop owners back and hold those who are there.

**U**NIVERSITY City is a sophisticated community. The Loop area, the oldest concentrated business section in the city, does not arouse much enthusiasm among residents although it is surrounded by beautiful residential and institutional buildings. The focus of interests is to the west — in Clayton — or downtown St. Louis. This deficiency may be a more important economic factor than physical limitations.

Ambitious and eager to create a

unique center, limited by cost, the planners strive to reconcile community wishes and economic prospects. This will be difficult without involving the city's major asset: Washington University. The potential of University participation — in planning cultural activities, community and civic enterprises — has been recognized but not exploited. While the relationship between the University and the city is excellent, the city has not taken this academic center much into consideration nor do University people feel much of an obligation towards their immediate neighborhood.

Both would benefit by a close working association.

### THE DEPARTURE

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With that, we shook hands, and Bruce left.

**D**AD accepted it, although Mother cried off and on for at least a week. Margie hardly ever came home; she spent all her time at a girl friend's house. I read a lot and took long walks.

A few weeks later, I got a letter from Bruce. He was doing all right, he said, but Susan had gone to Nebraska. He was going to save his money and follow her as soon as he could. He didn't explain any more than that.

Later that summer, Mother complained about the basketball ring and backboard on the gable of the garage. Dad gave his consent, and I took it down. I took a hammer and beat the rotten and battered boards of the backboard apart, then burned them in the old part of the garden. I threw the ring against the garbage can, so that it could be picked up the next day. I hated the damned, rusty thing, and I was glad to see it go.

Jack Matthews has published fiction and poetry in The Sewanee Review, Accent, Epoch, The Southwest Review, The Chicago Review, Commonweal, The New York Times, The Nation, Poetry, The New Republic, Antioch Review, etc. A professor of English at Urbana College, Scribner's has just published his first book "Bitter Knowledge," a collection of short stories.